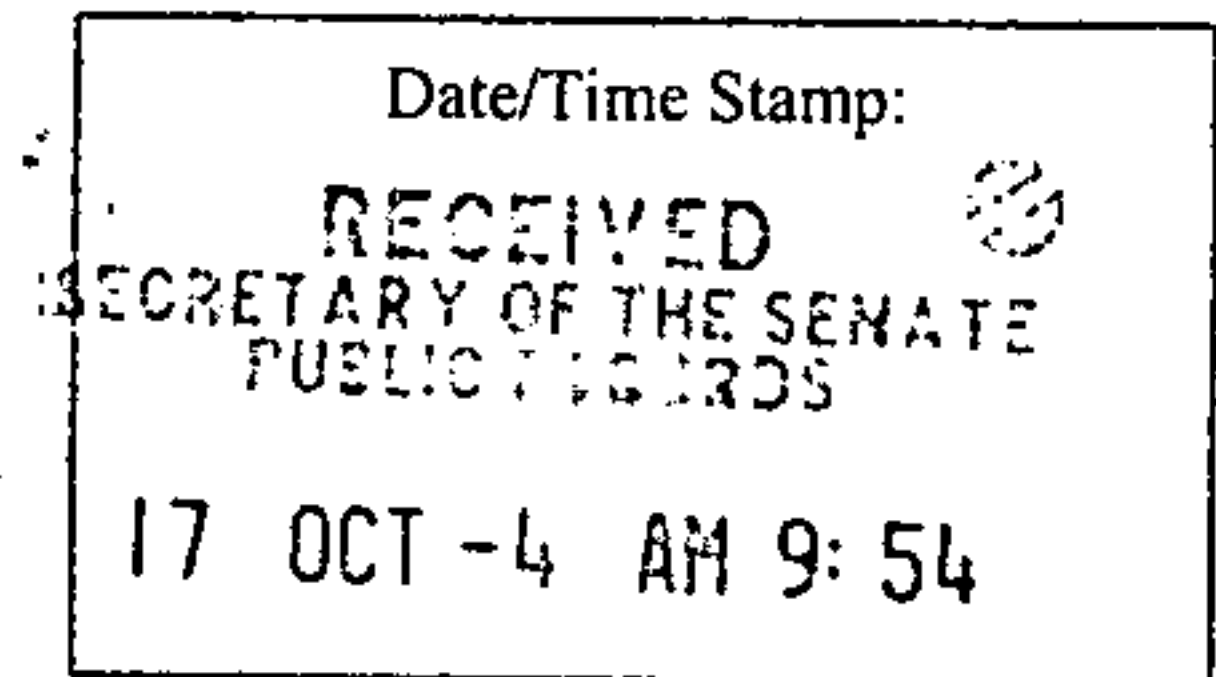


Employee Post-Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses



Post-Travel Filing Instructions: Complete this form within 30 days of returning from travel. Submit all forms to the **Office of Public Records in 232 Hart Building.**

In compliance with Rule 35.2(a) and (c), I make the following disclosures with respect to travel expenses that have been or will be reimbursed/paid for me. I also certify that I have attached:

- ☒ The **original** *Employee Pre-Travel Authorization* (Form RE-1), **AND**
☒ A **copy** of the *Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form* with all attachments (itinerary, invitee list, etc.)

Private Sponsor(s) (list all): The Council on Foreign Relations

Travel date(s): September 15, 2017

Name of accompanying family member (if any): N/A

Relationship to Traveler: ☐ Spouse ☐ Child

IF THE COST OF LODGING DID NOT INCREASE DUE TO THE ACCOMPANYING SPOUSE OR DEPENDENT CHILD, ONLY INCLUDE LODGING COSTS IN EMPLOYEE EXPENSES. (Attach additional pages if necessary.)

Expenses for Employee:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
<input type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimate <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Actual Amount	\$498.00 Rail \$43.46 Bus	N/A	\$18.05	

Expenses for Accompanying Spouse or Dependent Child (if applicable):

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
<input type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimate <input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amount				

Provide a description of all meetings and events attended. See Senate Rule 35.2(c)(6). (Attach additional pages if necessary.):

I attended three discussions with experts on counter-ISIS efforts, global economic issues, and unrest in Venezuela. I also attended a meeting with the editor of Foreign Affairs to discuss the future of the post-war liberal international order.

Please also see the attached final agenda.

10/3/2017
(Date)

Maria Mahler-Hawg
(Printed name of traveler)

Maria Mahler-Hawg
(Signature of traveler)

TO BE COMPLETED BY SUPERVISING MEMBER/OFFICER:

I have made a determination that the expenses set out above in connections with travel described in the *Employee Pre-Travel Authorization* form, are necessary transportation, lodging, and related expenses as defined in Rule 35.

10/3/2017
(Date)

M. F. B.
(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)

List of Senate invitees to Council on Foreign Relations trip to New York, NY

The aforementioned employees of the United States Senate have been selected to participate in a Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) congressional study group. This is a CFR initiative where we have identified a cohort of senior-level congressional staff to participate in off-the-record dinner discussions with members of the Council on Foreign Relations, CFR fellows, and other notable individuals and is part of our ongoing efforts to help build an informed, bipartisan community of senior congressional staff from both chambers. This trip to the CFR offices in New York is part of the study group activities and participants will attend a lunch meeting, with other members of the CFR, and meet with CFR experts based in New York.

1. Sarah Arkin, Foreign Policy Advisor, Office of Senator Bob Menendez
2. Joe Carapiet, Senior Counsel, Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
3. Colleen Gaydos, Professional Staff Member, Senate Appropriations Committee Subcommittee on Defense
4. Nick Ikeda, Senior Policy Advisor for National Security Affairs, Office of Senator Mazie Hirono
5. Theda Khrestin, Legislative Director, Office of Senator Roger Wicker
6. Dan Lips, Policy Director, Senate Homeland Security and Government Affairs Committee
7. Maria Mahler-Haug, Military Legislative Assistant, Office of Senator Michael Bennet
8. Matt Squeri, Legislative Assistant, Office of Senator Heidi Heitkamp
9. Jeremy Steslicki, National Security Legislative Assistant and Director of Appropriations, Office of Senator Tammy Baldwin
10. Will Todd, Professional Staff Member, Senate Appropriations Committee Subcommittee on Defense
11. Ben Widness, Senior Advisor, Office of Senator Ron Wyden
12. James Williams, Senior Policy Advisor, Office of Senator Orrin Hatch

House of Representatives staff also invited to participate are listed below:

1. Oren Adaki, Professional Staff Member, House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Terrorism, Non-proliferation, and Trade
2. Aaron Allen, Senior Legislative Assistant, Office of Representative Juan Vargas
3. Jaclyn Cahan, Counsel, Office of Representative Steven Lynch
4. Andres Chovil, Legislative Assistant, Office of Representative Tulsi Gabbard
5. Michael Darner, Executive Director, Congressional Progressive Caucus
6. Jamie Geller, Professional Staff Member & Deputy Communications Director, House Foreign Affairs Committee
7. Briana Marticorena, Legislative Assistant, Office of Representative Keith Ellison
8. Liam McKenna, General Counsel, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform
9. Blair Rotert, Legislative Assistant / House Foreign Affairs Committee Liaison, Office of Representative Ed Royce
10. Oliver Schwab, Chief of Staff, Office of Representative David Schweikert

11. Jessica Schwartz, Legislative Director, Office of Brad Schneider
12. Shira Siegel, Senior Legislative Assistant, Office of Representative Nita Lowey
13. Zach Silberman, Legislative Assistant, Office of Representative Adam Kinzinger
14. Alex Tiersky, Global Security and Political-Military Affairs Advisor, U.S. Helsinki Commission
15. Lynne Weil, Communication Director / Senior Policy Advisor, Office of Representative Diana DeGette

1777 F Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006
tel 202.509.8400 fax 202.509.8490 www.cfr.org

5:15 p.m. Depart CFR for New York Penn Station

15-00000-15

6:00 p.m. Depart New York Penn Station (Acela 2119)

8:53 p.m. Arrival in Washington DC

00000000007517

1777 F Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006
tel 202.509.8400 fax 202.509.8490 www.cfr.org

Maria Mahler-Haug
Military Legislative Assistant
Office of Senator Michael Bennet
458 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510
United States

I write to invite you to participate in a day-long visit to the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) New York headquarters on Friday, September 15, as part of your ongoing participation in the CFR congressional foreign policy study group. This trip will provide you, and the other study group members, an opportunity to engage with members of the council, CFR fellows based in New York and *Foreign Affairs* senior editorial staff.

We hope that you will take advantage of this unique opportunity. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact us at 202.509.8410 or by email at congress@cfr.org.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Patrick C. Costello
Director, Washington External Affairs
Council on Foreign Relations

7518

PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should **NOT** submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee **MUST** also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

1. Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors): Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)
2. Description of the trip: Provide congressional staff members participating in CFR's foreign policy study group an opportunity to visit CFR's New York office and participate in a day of substantive programming
3. Dates of travel: Friday, September 15, 2017
4. Place of travel: New York, NY
5. Name and title of Senate invitees: Please see attached documentation
6. I *certify* that the trip fits one of the following categories:
 - ☒ (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.
 - OR -
 - ☐ (B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (*see question 9*).
7. ☒ I *certify* that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.
 - AND -
 - ☒ I *certify* that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
8. I *certify* that:
 - ☒ The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for *de minimis* lobbyist involvement.
 - AND -
 - ☒ The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (*see question 9*).

9. USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B)

I certify that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:

- ☐ (A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and one overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip.

- OR -

- ☐ (B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and two overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip (see questions 6 and 10).

- OR -

- ☐ (C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.

10. USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)

If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:

11. ☒ An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I *certify* that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hour-by-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.

- 12. Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:**

CFR is the only sponsor of this trip and is covering all associated costs.

- 13. Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:**

CFR is an independent think tank and membership organization dedicated to being a resource for its members, government officials, and other interested citizens in order to help them better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States.

- 14. Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:**

CFR has hosted two similar trips to New York on September 25, 2015 and September 19, 2016

15. Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips):

CFR hosts several different meeting series on Capitol Hill for members of Congress and senior congressional staff for the purposes of informing the policy making community of the foreign policy and national security issues confronting the United States.

16. Total Expenses for Each Participant:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith estimate <input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts	Rail travel costs: \$400 Round-trip ground transport from rail station to CFR offices: \$50	N/A	Approx.: \$50	

17. State whether a) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation or b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation:

This trip is taking place with regard to congressional participation

18. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip

The Council on Foreign Relations is headquartered in New York City.

19. Name and location of hotel or other lodging facility:

N/A

20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility:

N/A

21. Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:

Meal costs are estimated to be far less than the \$74 per diem rate for this location.

22. Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:

Participant will travel from Washington, DC to New York on Amtrak Acela services (business class).

23. ☒ I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).

- 24. List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:**

N/A

25. I hereby *certify* that the information contained herein is true, complete and correct. (You must include the completed signature block below for each travel sponsor.):

Signature of Travel Sponsor:

Name and Title: Patrick C. Costello, Director, Washington External Affairs

Name of Organization: Council on Foreign Relations

Address: 1777 F Street, NW Washington, DC 20006

Telephone Number: 202-509-8458

Fax Number: 202-509-8400

E-mail Address: pcostello@cfr.org

EMPLOYEE PRE-TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

Date/Time Stamp:

Pre-Travel Filing Instructions: Complete and submit this form at least 30 days prior to the travel departure date to the Select Committee on Ethics in SH-220. Incomplete and late travel submissions will not be considered or approved. This form must be typed and is available as a fillable PDF on the Committee's website at ethics.senate.gov. Retain a copy of your entire pre-travel submission for your required post-travel disclosure.

Name of Traveler: Maria Mahler-Haug

Employing Office/Committee: Office of Senator Michael Bennet

Private Sponsor(s) (list all): Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

Travel date(s): September 15, 2017

Note: If you plan to extend the trip for any reason you must notify the Committee.

Destination(s): New York, NY

Explain how this trip is specifically connected to the traveler's official or representational duties:

I will be traveling to New York City as part of the Council on Foreign Relations' (CFR) foreign policy study group. On this trip, we will attend a panel discussion and meet with national security experts at CFR's headquarters to examine global security issues, and U.S. foreign policy. These engagements will inform my work advising the Senator on U.S. policy responses to global events and national security challenges.

Name of accompanying family member (if any): _____

Relationship to Employee: ☐ Spouse ☐ Child

I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete and correct to the best of my knowledge:

8/14/17
(Date)


(Signature of Employee)

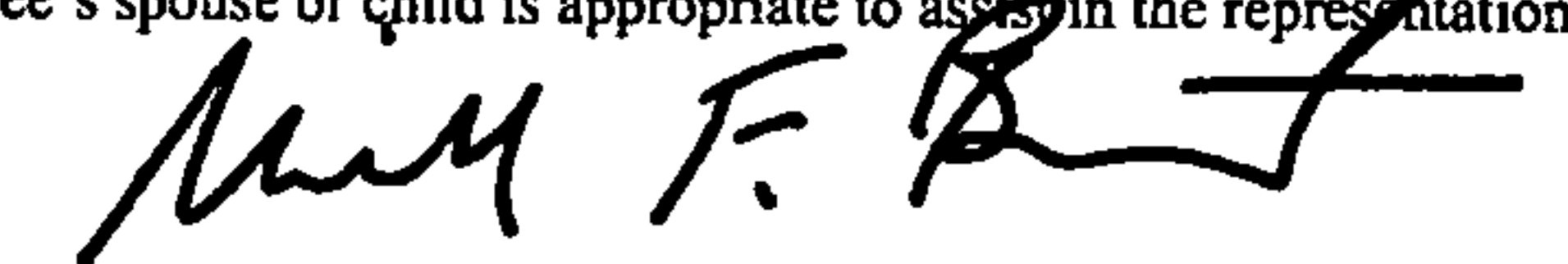
TO BE COMPLETED BY SUPERVISING SENATOR/OFFICER (President of the Senate, Secretary of the Senate, Sergeant at Arms, Secretary for the Majority, Secretary for the Minority, and Chaplain):

I, Michael Bennet hereby authorize Maria Mahler-Haug
(Print Senator's/Officer's Name) (Print Traveler's Name)

an employee under my direct supervision, to accept payment or reimbursement for necessary transportation, lodging, and related expenses for travel to the event described above. I have determined that this travel is in connection with his or her duties as a Senate employee or an officeholder, and will not create the appearance that he or she is using public office for private gain.

I have also determined that the attendance of the employee's spouse or child is appropriate to assist in the representation of the Senate. (signify "yes" by checking box) ☐

8/14/17
(Date)


(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)

11. Jessica Schwartz, Legislative Director, Office of Brad Schneider
12. Shira Siegel, Senior Legislative Assistant, Office of Representative Nita Lowey
13. Zach Silberman, Legislative Assistant, Office of Representative Adam Kinzinger
14. Alex Tiersky, Global Security and Political-Military Affairs Advisor, U.S. Helsinki Commission
15. Lynne Weil, Communication Director / Senior Policy Advisor, Office of Representative Diana DeGette

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rel 202.509.8400 fax 202.509.8490 www.cfr.org

New York Program

Friday, September 15, 2017

- 7:55 a.m. Depart Union Station (Acela 2104)
- 11:20 a.m. Arrive New York Penn Station
- 12:00 p.m. Working Lunch and Council on Foreign Relations General Meeting (the featured speaker will be a dignitary visiting New York as part of the United Nations General Assembly session and the precise speaker and topic are TBD. This meeting is also open to members of the Council on Foreign Relations, and is not specific to the congressional staff audience.)
- 1:30 p.m. Meeting Concludes
- 1:45 p.m. Meeting with Jonathan Tepperman, Managing Editor, *Foreign Affairs*
Topic: Finding Solutions to Democracy's Problems
- 3:00 p.m. Discussion with Mr. Max Boot, *Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow for National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations*
Topic: The Fight Against ISIS After the Fall of Mosul and Raqqa
- 4:15 p.m. Panel Discussion with Dr. Benn Steil, *Senior Fellow and Director of International Economics, Council on Foreign Relations*
Topic: International Finance, Financial Markets, and Monetary Policy
- 5:15 p.m. Depart CFR for New York Penn Station
- 6:00 p.m. Depart New York Penn Station (Acela 2119)

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COUNCIL *on* FOREIGN RELATIONS

1777 F Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006
tel 202.509.8400 fax 202.509.8490 www.cfr.org

Tuesday, August 1, 2017

Maria Mahler-Haug
Military Legislative Assistant
Office of Senator Michael Bennet
458 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510
United States

Dear Ms. Mahler-Haug:

I write to invite you to participate in a day-long visit to the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) New York headquarters on Friday, September 15, as part of your ongoing participation in the CFR congressional foreign policy study group. This trip will provide you, and the other study group members, an opportunity to engage with members of the council, CFR fellows based in New York and *Foreign Affairs* senior editorial staff.

The formal meeting program is attached but we will be departing from Union Station at 7:55 a.m. and returning later that evening. All costs associated with this program will be covered by CFR.

We hope that you will take advantage of this unique opportunity. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact us at 202.509.8410 or by email at congress@cfr.org.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Patrick C. Costello
Director, Washington External Affairs
Council on Foreign Relations

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PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should NOT submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee MUST also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

1. Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors): Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)
2. Description of the trip: Provide congressional staff members participating in CFR's foreign policy study group an opportunity to visit CFR's New York office and participate in a day of substantive programming
3. Dates of travel: Friday, September 15, 2017
4. Place of travel: New York, NY
5. Name and title of Senate invitees: Please see attached documentation
6. I *certify* that the trip fits one of the following categories:
- ☒ (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.
- OR -
- ☐ (B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (*see question 9*).
7. ☒ I *certify* that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.
- AND -
- ☒ I *certify* that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
8. I *certify* that:
- ☒ The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for *de minimis* lobbyist involvement.
- AND -
- ☒ The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (*see question 9*).

9. USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B)

I certify that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:

- ☐ (A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and one overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip.

-OR-

- ☐ (B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and two overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment of the trip (see questions 6 and 10).*

-OR-

- ☐ (C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.

10. USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)

If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:

11. ☒ An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I *certify* that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hour-by-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.

- 12. Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:**

CFR is the only sponsor of this trip and is covering all associated costs.

- 13. Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:**

CFR is an independent think tank and membership organization dedicated to being a resource for its members, government officials, and other interested citizens in order to help them better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States.

- 14. Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:**

CFR has hosted two similar trips to New York on September 25, 2015 and September 19, 2016

15. Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips):

CFR hosts several different meeting series on Capitol Hill for members of Congress and senior congressional staff for the purposes of informing the policy making community of the foreign policy and national security issues confronting the United States.

16. Total Expenses for Each Participant:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith estimate <input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts	Rail travel costs: \$400 Round-trip ground transport from rail station to CFR offices: \$50	N/A	Approx.: \$50	

17. State whether a) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation or b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation:

This trip is taking place with regard to congressional participation

18. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip

The Council on Foreign Relations is headquartered in New York City.

19. Name and location of hotel or other lodging facility:

N/A

20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility:

N/A

21. Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:

Meal costs are estimated to be far less than the \$74 per diem rate for this location.

22. Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:

Participant will travel from Washington, DC to New York on Amtrak Acela services (business class).

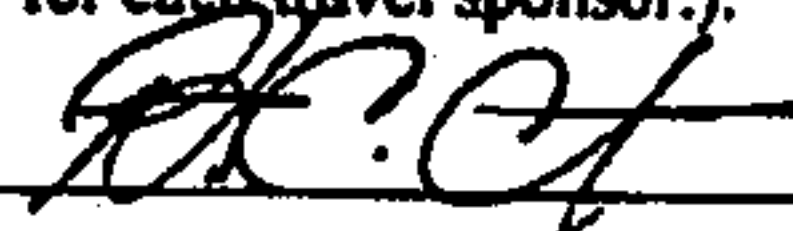
23. ☒ I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).

24. List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:

N/A

25. I hereby certify that the information contained herein is true, complete and correct. (You must include the completed signature block below for each travel sponsor.):

Signature of Travel Sponsor:



Name and Title: Patrick C. Costello, Director, Washington External Affairs

Name of Organization: Council on Foreign Relations

Address: 1777 F Street, NW Washington, DC 20006

Telephone Number: 202-509-8458

Fax Number: 202-509-8400

E-mail Address: pcostello@cfr.org